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CONFIDENTIAL STATE 169994

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, HU, US

SUBJECT: CSCE CONSULTATIONS WITH HUNGARIAN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NAGY

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1. SUMMARY: CSCE PORTION OF NAGY'S WASHINGTON
CONSULTATIONS CONSISTED PRIMARILY OF OFFICE CALL ON
AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND TWO-AND-ONE-HALF-HOUR
DISCUSSION SESSION BETWEEN NAGY PARTY PLUS AMBASSADOR
ESZTERGALYOS AND US GROUP CHAIRED BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT
SECRETARY GOODBY. DISCUSSIONS DEALT WITH BOTH
BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL CSCE SUBJECTS AND INCLUDED
SPIRITED EXCHANGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS BETWEEN NAGY AND
ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO
CONTINUE AND SEEK TO EXPAND CSCE CONSULTATIONS

THROUGH EMBASSIES AND THROUGH PERIODIC VISITS OF EXPERT OR HIGHER-LEVEL DELEGATIONS. US SIDE PROPOSED THAT GROUP OF EXPERTS, INCLUDING CSCE COMMISSION MEMBERS, VISIT BUDAPEST DURING FIRST PART OF NEXT YEAR, AND NAGY APPEARED AGREEABLE TO SUCH A VISIT. IT WAS ALSO AGREED THAT NEXT ROUND OF CSCE DISCUSSIONS WOULD INCLUDE SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS IN BASKETS TWO AND THREE. END SUMMARY.

2. NAGY INITIATED CSCE PORTION OF WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS WITH OFFICE CALL ON AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 29. IN HOURLONG DISCUSSION, BOTH SIDES AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF INCREASED CSCE CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO MADRID. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG DESCRIBED NEED FOR SUCH CONSULTATIONS AS ONE OF CHIEF LESSONS OF BELGRADE AND SAID THAT ROLE OF MADRID SHOULD BE LARGELY TO LEGITIMIZE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED BEFOREHAND. NAGY AGREED BUT STRESSED THAT FUNCTION OF CONSULTATIONS MUST NOT BE TO PROBE WEAKNESSES OF OTHER SIDE BUT RATHER TO SEEK GENUINE AREAS OF COOPERATION. BOTH AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG AND NAGY ALSO AGREED THAT INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE WAS A CONFIDENTIAL

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MAJOR FACTOR INHIBITING PROGRESS AT BELGRADE. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG SAID THAT HIS EARLY MEETINGS WITH SOVIETS AT BELGRADE MADE CLEAR THAT A SUBSTANTIVE AND BALANCED DOCUMENT WAS UNLIKELY TO BE ACHIEVED. NAGY AGREED THAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AT BELGRADE WERE LARGE FROM THE BEGINNING AND HAMPERED TRADITIONAL ROLE OF NNA'S IN FINDING MIDDLE GROUND. HE STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ATMOSPHERE FOR MADRID AND SAID THAT THREE EXPERTS' MEETINGS IN BONN, MONTREUX, AND VALLETTA SHOULD NOT BE NEGLECTED IN THIS REGARD. THE MEETINGS WOULD BE WATCHED CLOSELY FOR SIGNS OF HARDENING OR MORE COOPERATIVE POSITIONS. BOTH SIDES AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT EXPERTS' MEETINGS WERE LIKELY TO VARY IN PRODUCTIVITY, WITH SCIENTIFIC FORUM PROBABLY BEING THE MOST USEFUL. OFFICE CALL CONCLUDED WITH NAGY STATING THAT. IN ITS LIMITED WAY. HUNGARY WOULD DO WHATEVER POSSIBLE TO IMPROVE PROSPECTS FOR MADRID.

3. CSCE DISCUSSIONS WERE CONTINUED FRIDAY MORNING DURING TWO-AND-ONE-HALF HOUR SESSION BETWEEN NAGY PARTY AND US GROUP CHAIRED BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY GOODBY. ALSO PRESENT ON US SIDE WAS ASSISTANT SECRETARY PATRICIA DERIAN, CSCE COMMISSION STAFF DIRECTOR SPENCER OLIVER, AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM ICA, OES, EUR/EE, EUR/RPE AND EUR/RPM.

4. GOODBY OPENED SESSION WITH PREPARED STATEMENT NOTING IMPROVED HUNGARIAN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND OUR BILATERAL COOPERATION BUT STRESSING INTEREST IN STRENGTHENING OUR BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS, TO BE CONDUCTED THROUGH OUR EMBASSIES AND THROUGH PERIODIC

VISITS OF EXPERT OR HIGHER-LEVEL DELEGATIONS. HE PROPOSED THAT, FOLLOWING NAGY'S VISIT, A REGULAR CONFIDENTIAL

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AND ACTIVE DIALOGUE ON CSCE BE INITIATED THROUGH OUR EMBASSIES. HE SAID THAT, IF AGREEABLE TO THE HUNGARIANS, THIS WOULD BE FOLLOWED UP BY SOME OF OUR EXPERTS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF CSCE COMMISSION, VISITING BUDAPEST DURING THE FIRST PART OF NEXT YEAR TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS. GOODBY'S STATEMENT EMPHASIZED US INTEREST IN BOTH CONTINUING PAST DISCUSSION OF BILATERAL PROPOSALS AND EXPANDING CONSULTATIONS TO INCLUDE REGULAR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON MULTILATERAL CSCE ISSUES, PARTICULARLY IN RELATION TO THE THREE CSCE EXPERTS' MEETINGS AND EVENTUALLY TO MADRID MEETING ITSELF. THIS WOULD INCLUDE DISCUSSION OF MULTILATERAL PROPOSALS WHICH MIGHT BE TABLED AT MADRID OR WHICH WERE TABLED AT BELGRADE AND MERIT FURTHER CONSIDERATION.

5. IN REPLYING TO US STATEMENT, NAGY SAID THAT HUNGARY WAS READY TO PURSUE CONSULTATIONS ON ALL ASPECTS OF CSCE. HE SAID THAT HUNGARY REGARDED THE FINAL ACT AS A HISTORIC DOCUMENT REPRESENTING THE TURN AWAY FROM THE COLD WAR AND TOWARD DETENTE. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT THE CSCE PROCESS WAS OF NECESSITY LONG-TERM AND GRADUAL AND THAT THE FINAL ACT WAS A DELICATELY-BALANCED COMPROMISE WHICH MUST NOT BE DISTORTED BY THE FACT THAT EACH SIDE HELD CERTAIN PROVISIONS "CLOSER TO ITS HEART" THAN OTHERS. HE SAID THAT ALL 35 COUNTRIES WERE COMMITTED TO THE CSCE AND EACH HAD MADE SOME EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT ITS PROVISIONS. HUNGARY HAD FOUND THAT BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY WAS MOST PRODUCTIVE AND WOULD CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION. NAGY STRESSED AGAIN THAT BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE ONLY IF BOTH SIDES CONFIDENTIAL

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SOUGHT GENUINE COOPERATION RATHER THAN TACTICAL ADVANTAGE THROUGH THEM, AND HE EMPHASIZED AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AT BELGRADE AND THE NEED TO IMPROVE IT PRIOR TO MADRID.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS: FOLLOWING OPENING STATEMENTS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN DESCRIBED US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IN RELATION TO CSCE. TAKING UP NAGY'S COMMENTS ON THE FUNCTION OF CONSULTATIONS, SHE SAID THE PURPOSE OF US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY WAS NOT TO GAIN TACTICAL ADVANTAGE OR BACK COUNTRIES INTO A CORNER, BUT RATHER TO INITIATE CONSTRUCTIVE

DIALOGUE ON IMPORTANT PRINCIPLES WHICH ALL 35 CSCE STATES PLEDGED TO UPHOLD. CONSULTATIONS PRIOR TO MADRID ON MATTERS RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS WOULD THUS BE USEFUL AND HELP TO PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING. SHE SAID THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZED THAT ITS OWN HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD WAS NOT PERFECT, AND WE WERE WILLING TO DISCUSS OUR OWN PROBLEMS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE WISHED TO DISCUSS WITH HUNGARY SUCH ISSUES AS THE AVAILABILITY OF WESTERN PUBLICATIONS TO HUNGARIAN CITIZENS, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES. SHE STRESSED THAT THE FINAL ACT WAS AN INTEGRAL WHOLE ALL OF WHOSE PROVISIONS IN THE END RELATED TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SENSE OF ACHIEVING HAPPIER AND MORE SECURE LIVES FOR PEOPLE.

7. NAGY REACTED TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN'S PRESENTATION WITH LONG AND OBVIOUSLY PREPARED CRITIQUE OF US POLICY. CITING EXAMPLES SUCH AS DELAYED US RATIFICATION OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS AGREEMENTS, US VISA LAWS, AND ALLEGED US DIFFICULTIES IN IMPLEMENTING CULTURAL PROVISIONS OF BASKET THREE, HE EMPHASIZED DIFFERING EASTERN AND WESTERN APPROACHES TO CSCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND IMPLICITY ARGUED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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NOTHING COULD BE DONE ABOUT THEM. HE SAID THAT HUNGARY WAS WORKING FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BUT THAT ITS CONCEPTION BEGAN WITH THE COLLECTIVE RATHER THAN THE INDIVIDUAL AND DIFFERED FROM US CONCEPTIONS. HE ACCUSED THE US OF OVER-EMPHASIZING HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CSCE CONTEXT AND OF BEING "MORE IMPATIENT" WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES THAN WITH ITS ALLIES. ARGUING THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WAS A UNILATERAL CONCERN SUBJECT TO THE TRADITIONS AND RESERVATIONS OF EACH STATE. HE SAID THAT HUNGARY WOULD PREFER TO SEE GREATER US CONCERN WITH OTHER PROVISIONS OF BASKET THREE, SUCH AS FACILITATING THE EXHIBITION OF HUNGARIAN FILMS IN THE US OR LOWERING THE COSTS OF MOUNTING CULTURAL EXHIBITS. HE CONCLUDED, HOWEVER, BY STATING THAT WHAT COULD NOT BE DISCUSSED TODAY MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS IN THE FUTURE IF THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IMPROVED, BECAUSE "THERE WERE NO HUMAN CONTACTS

DURING THE COLD WAR." HE CALLED FOR "MORE UNDERSTANDING" AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE FACT THAT "CERTAIN THINGS ARE NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE TIME BEING."
ASSISTANT SECRETARY DERIAN QUESTIONED A NUMBER OF NAGY'S POINTS, AND THE DISCUSSION ENDED WITH DIFFERENCES REMAINING, BUT MUTUAL AGREEMENT THAT FURTHER DISCUSSION WAS DESIRABLE AND WOULD LIMIT MISUNDERSTANDIGS.

8. CSCE COMMISSION: SPENCER OLIVER, COMMISSION STAFF DIRECTOR, EXPLAINED TO NAGY THE ROLE OF THE CSCE COMMISSION AND STRESSED THAT THE COMMISSION WAS A UNIQUE LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE BODY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TOTAL US COMMITMENT TO CSCE. HE DESCRIBED SOME OF THE COMMISSION'S CURRENT PROJECTS, SUCH AS A STUDY OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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UNITED STATES, AND EXPLAINED HOW THE COMMISSION HAD ASSISTED IN THE PASSAGE OF THE MCGOVERN AMENDMENT. HE SAID THE COMMISSION WELCOMED STRONGER BILATERAL CSCE CONSULTATIONS AND HOPED THAT THEY WILL CONTRIBUTE TO CONCRETE PROGRESS AT MADRID.

9. CULTURAL RELATIONS: RESPONDING TO NAGY'S COMPLAINTS ON CULTURAL EXCHANGES, ICA OFFICER YALE RICHMOND PRESENTED US VIEW OF CURRENT STATE OF CULTURAL RELATIONS. HE EXPRESSED SOME DIS-APPOINTMENT THAT BOTH SIDES WERE STILL DISCUSSING THE PROGRAM DOCUMENT OF CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES AGREEMENT, BUT SAID HE WAS OPTIMISTIC OF MORE PROGRESS IN FUTURE IF BOTH SIDES EXTEND SUSTAINED EFFORT. HE SAID THE US HAS HAD LEFT-OVER FUNDS EACH YEAR FOR HUNGARY WHICH WENT UNSPENT PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF ADMINISTRATIVE DELAYS AND PROBLEMS. IN REGARD TO FILMS AND CULTURAL EXHIBITS, HE SAID THAT OTHER EASTERN COUNTRIES WERE ABLE TO MAKE HIGH-QUALITY PRESENTATIONS IN THE US FREE MARKET SYSTEM, AS SHOWN BY THE GDR DRESDEN EXHIBIT NOW IN WASHINGTON. NAGY RESPONDED THAT US-HUNGARIAN EXCHANGES WERE RELATIVELY RECENT AND SHOULD THUS NOT GIVE RISE TO DISAPPOINTMENT. HOWEVER, THE US HAD IN THE PAST SOUGHT TO USE THE SAME "RECIPE" FOR HUNGARY AS FOR THE USSR. ALTHOUGH MUCH COULD BE DONE IN PRACTICE, HUNGARY WOULD NOT AGREE ON PAPER TO CONDITIONS WHICH WERE VERY DIFFERENT FROM HUNGARIAN AGREEMENTS WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. HUNGARY DID NOT HAVE LARGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY LIKE THE GDR TO SPEND ON EXHIBITS, AND IT SOUGHT "PRACTICAL RECIPROCITY" WHICH WOULD RECOGNIZE THIS FACT. IN SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES, IT WAS ALSO INTERESTED IN THE TECHNICAL AREAS RATHER THAN JUST BASIC RESEARCH.

10. BASKET TWO: GOODBY SUGGESTED THAT A SYSTEMATIC CONFIDENTIAL

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REVIEW OF BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS IN BASKETS TWO AND THREE SHOULD BE THE MAIN AGENDA ITEM FOR OUR NEXT ROUND OF CSCE CONSULTATIONS. IN BASKET TWO, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO REVIEW THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE

TRADE AGREEMENT AS WELL AS TO DISCUSS OTHER ISSUES, SUCH AS CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT IN AVAILABILITY OF TRADE STATISTICS AND OF THE ACCESS OF US BUSINESS-MEN TO HUNGARIAN END-USERS. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT

THE US WAS SOMETIMES NOT AWARE OF ALL THE STATISTICS WHICH ARE IN FACT AVAILABLE.

11. CSCE EXPERTS MEETINGS: BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THE SCIENTIFIC FORUM WOULD PROBABLY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE THREE CSCE EXPERTS MEETINGS. THE US SAID THAT IT HOPED THE FORUM WOULD PRODUCE CONCRETE RESULTS ON PROBLEMS COMMON TO SCIENTISTS FROM ALL PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, WHILE NOT DUPLICATING THE WORK OF OTHER BODIES SUCH AS UNESCO. WE ALSO SAID THAT, WHILE IMPORTANT, THE EXPERTS' MEETINGS WERE NOT MAJOR CONFERENCES AND SHOULD NOT BE BLOWN OUT OF PROPORTION IN THE CSCE CONTEXT. NAGY AGREED THAT THE MEETINGS SHOULD NOT BE OVEREMPHASIZED, BUT STRESSED THAT THEY WOULD BE SEEN AS A BAROMETER OF HARDENING OR MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDES. HE ALSO AGREED THAT THE SCIENTIFIC FORUM SHOULD BE PRACTICAL AND SET UP A NEEDED FRAMEWORK FOR SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION.

12. CBMS: IN DISCUSSING CONSULTATION ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, GOODBY SAID THAT CBMS MAY BE ONE SUBJECT WE WOULD BE RAISING. WE WOULD PERHAPS WISH TO RETURN CONFIDENTIAL

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TO SOME OF THE ISSUES RAISED AT BELGRADE. NAGY SAID THAT THE SOVIET CBM PROPOSAL AT BELGRADE SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN AND COULD BE ONE TOPIC OF DISCUSSION. HE SAID THAT CBMS WERE USEFUL BUT SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS THE MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE FINAL ACT. OTHER PROVISIONS WERE MORE IMPORTANT AND CAN CONTRIBUTE MORE TO EAST-WEST CONFIDENCE. BOTH EAST AND WEST KNEW ENOUGH ABOUT EACH OTHER'S MILITARY ACTIVITIES, AND PRIMARILY THE NEUTRALS WERE WORRIED AND THUS INTERESTED IN CBMS. ANNOUNCEMENTS OF MANEUVERS FRIGHTENED THE HUNGARIAN PUBLIC SO HUNGARY WOULD PREFER TO CONDUCT MANEUVERS QUIETLY. NAGY SUGGESTED THAT THE SOVIET

PROPOSAL FOR AN UPPER LIMIT ON MILITARY MANEUVERS WAS A MORE USEFUL TOPIC FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION, SINCE IT WOULD RESULT IN ACTUAL LIMITATIONS ON MILITARY ACTIVITY.

13. BREZHNEV PROPOSALS: NAGY SUGGESTED THAT THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCES ON ENERGY, TRANSPORTATION AND THE

ENVIRONMENT WERE AN IMPORTANT MULTILATERAL CSCE CONCERN. HE SAID THE US SEES THESE ONLY FROM THE POLITICAL ANGLE, BUT THEY ARE SERIOUS, PRACTICAL PROBLEMS TO EUROPE.

- 14. FOR USNATO: YOU MAY USE ABOVE, AS APPROPRIATE, IN BRIEFING ALLIES ON NAGY VISIT.
- 15. FOR BUDAPEST: WE APPRECIATE YOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR NAGY VISIT IN BUDAPEST 2503 AND ARE PREPARING SEPTEL RESPONSE.

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